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WHIPLASH

A brief history of Minneapolis as a great city
for white people

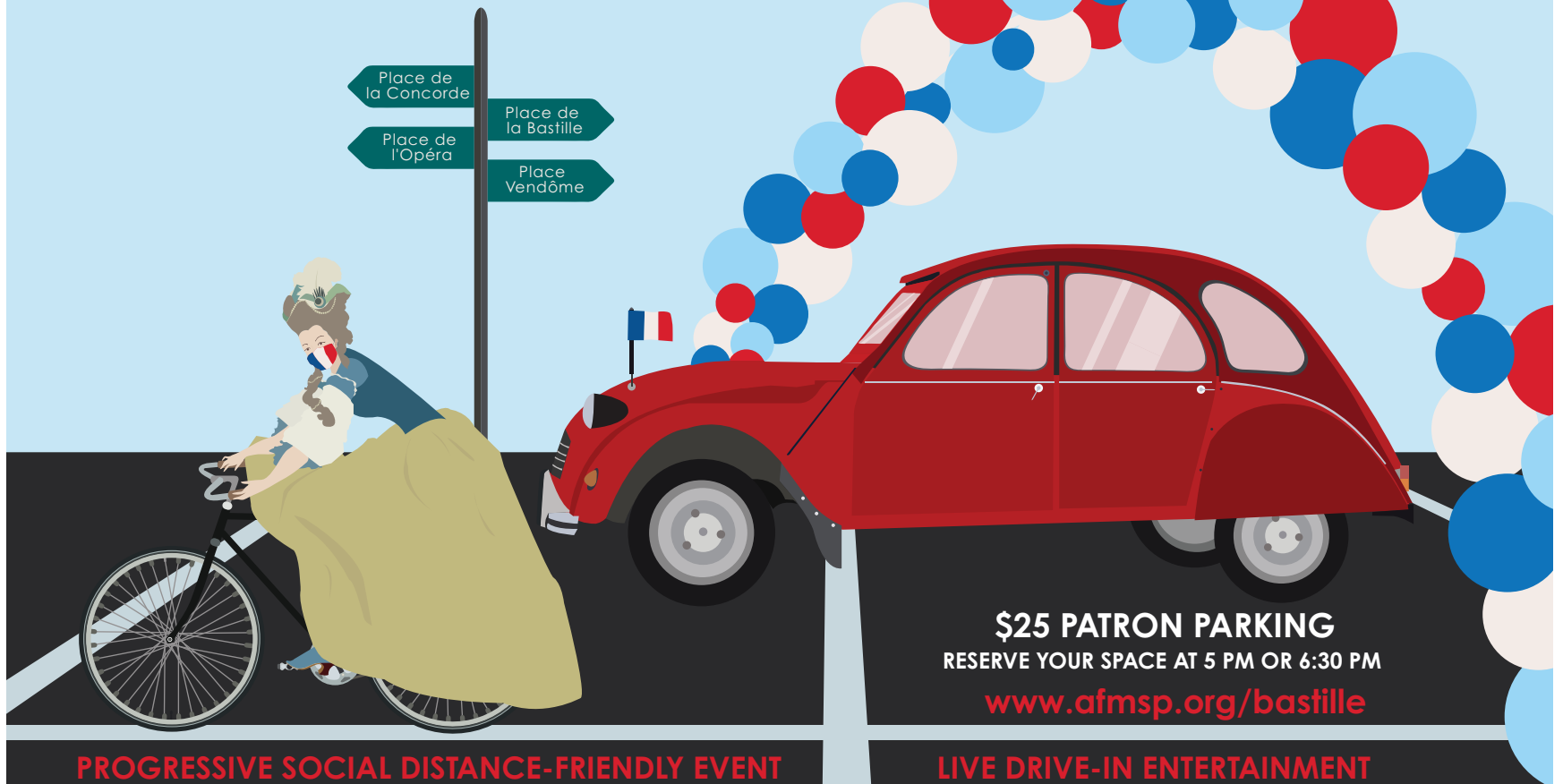


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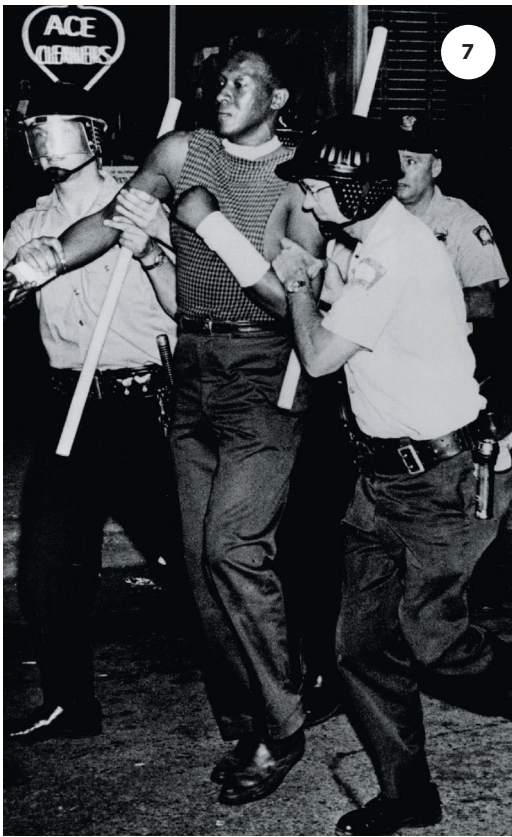


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A brief history of Minneapolis as a great city for white people
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Photo by Earl Seubert, Minneapolis Star Tribune. July 25, 1967.

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THE STAT SHEET

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Latest estimate of locations damaged in George Floyd protests, per a Star Tribune study

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130,000

Number of COVID-19 deaths we're approaching in the U.S.

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Fines facing two Minnesotans busted for violating Canada's quarantine laws

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HITTING THE STREETS JULY 29, 2020

To celebrate the issue hitting the stands, City Pages is hosting a virtual Best of the Twin Cities event starting August 5, 2020.

"On the bright side, at least he clearly labeled himself as the worst fucking person in any given room."

Reader Tony Bruno responds to "Swastika tattoo photo has internet after suburban shop" at citypages.com

PIPE DOWN

IN A BIG BLOW TO BIG OIL and to the Trump administration, a federal judge has ruled that the Dakota Access pipeline should be shut down for further environmental review. It's an I-told-you-so-moment for the ages: The Standing Rock Sioux Reservation tribe, which protested the \$3.8 billion pipeline's installation in 2016 and 2017, has been pushing for legislation to stop it since it started pumping three years ago. "This pipeline should have never been built here," Standing Rock Sioux Chairman Mike Faith said in a statement. "We told them that from the beginning." The order, issued Monday, says it has to be shut down within 30 days.

POPULAR STORIES AT CITYPAGES.COM

Minneapolis **COUPLE MARRIED** at the burnt-out Third Precinct is the sweetest act of protest

'**ARYAN COWBOY BROTHERHOOD**' bikers hung out in downtown Stillwater

SWASTIKA TATTOO photo has internet after suburban Minnesota shop

Minneapolis's **56 BREWING** apologizes for noose incident

LUSH GAY BAR kinda laid off all its employees by Facebook... on Pride weekend

TODAY, SATAN

Mankato Republican says ‘the Devil’ is attacking her campaign

We wouldn’t blame you if you hadn’t heard of Elizabeth Bangert.

She’s a conservative activist, “patriot,” and daycare provider in south-central Minnesota. If you’re in the Mankato area, you might be familiar with her business (Here We Grow Childhood Center) or her frequent editorial bylines in the Mankato Free Press.

You might also be familiar with her lobbying work, which is largely critical of the way the Department of Human Services regulates childcare providers. (Not for nothing; she once got the book thrown at her when a child fell off a small slide.)

The Republican Party of Minnesota hopes you’ll get to know Bangert a lot better. The party’s endorsed her as its state Senate candidate for District 19, which is currently being represented by Sen. Nick Frentz (DFL-North Mankato), but voted for Trump in 2016.

Bangert didn’t respond to interview requests about her platform. She doesn’t appear to have an official campaign website, but does have social media. Her campaign’s Facebook page comes out against omnibus bills, for Stand Your Ground laws, and strong on the idea that “the role of government is not to be provider.”

Meanwhile, her campaign Twitter profile, started in April, sums her up with the brief description: “Unashamed follower of Jesus, defender of children, founder of MN Citizen Lobbyist.” The latter’s Facebook page is probably where you’re going to get the most candid look at her political philosophy.

Last week, she released a video on how “socialist programs” (like the federally funded early childhood education program, Head Start) are designed to “destroy” the American family unit and eventually lead to children becoming “the property of the government.”

“Their little song and dance of, ‘Oh, we need people to be able to afford housing, we need people to have health insurance, we need someone to watch their kids while they go to work.’ That’s not their goal. Their goal is to get people into those so they never get out,” she said.

And, on a related(?) note, mandatory mask-wearing policies are also “destroying the family.” (She refuses to wear one.)

The week before, she released a timely video informing the public she would not “apologize for being born with white skin” and that “disparities” in this country are caused by “socialist programs like the childcare assistance program.”

It doesn’t look like Bangert is under any illusions that the road ahead is going to be an easy one, or that her views are particularly palatable. According to screenshots on her personal Facebook (under the name Elizabeth Joy), she was doing some real soul-searching on May 30.



REPUBLICAN PARTY OF MINNESOTA

“I’m asking you to pray for me,” she said. “It will get worse for me. They will attack me verbally. They will try and make me uncomfortable so I go silent. But God is using their evil for His good.”

She said “the Devil” was “trying to use fear” to get her to, among other things, “drop out of the Senate race,” “take campaign finance donations,” and “attend political trainings.”

“But God told me He was going to be my campaign manager,” she wrote.

...God may have His work cut out for Him. —HANNAH JONES

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Before white settlers renamed St. Anthony Falls, Dakota knew the river falls as Owamniyomni.



WHIPLASH

A brief history of Minneapolis as a great city for white people

BY TOM WEBER

The following is excerpted from Tom Weber's Minneapolis: An Urban Biography, published June 1 by the Minnesota Historical Society Press.

I.
The euphoria was still there on Friday, October 30, 1987. Five days earlier, the Minnesota Twins had won baseball's World Series. A massive parade—the biggest since a ticker-tape parade for President Harry Truman in 1948—drew two hundred thousand in Minneapolis, then another two hundred thousand when it moved to St. Paul. Many fans and players waved their Homer Hankies,

which had debuted during the playoffs and were already becoming iconic memorabilia.

After the dynastic Minneapolis Lakers basketball team defected to Los Angeles in 1960, the arrival in 1961 of both baseball's Twins and football's Vikings kept valid—and even boosted—the region's claim as a big-league market for professional sports. Hockey's North Stars arrived in 1967. Unlike the Lakers of yore, none of these teams had won a championship. Until now.

But on that Friday morning, a very small group of people in the state were turning their focus away from the Twins. They were thinking about a vigil that would happen that evening and a ceremony the next morning, 125 years in the making. In the winter of 1862–63, about sixteen hundred Dakota women, children, and elders were held at a concentration camp near Fort Snell-

ing to await expulsion after the six-week US–Dakota War.

Hundreds of them died there, mostly from measles and other diseases. The camp stood steps from the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, which is a sacred place of creation for many of the Dakota, who call it Bdote.

These Dakota were imprisoned within sight of what they considered the center of Earth and of all things, their most revered spot on the planet. One of Chris Cavender's ancestors, Haza WiD (Blueberry Woman), had been a prisoner. He spoke at the vigil, held on the same floodplain where the camp once stood: a wooded area next to a parking lot in what was now a state park.

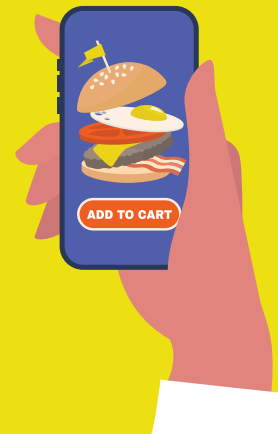
As elders spoke, the fort loomed atop the nearby ridge and planes passed overhead, heading to and from the nearby international

airport. The names of those held at the camp were read aloud; drummers closed with honor songs. The event wasn't universally heralded among Dakota people.

"Unless there are reparations, what's the point?" asked one descendent of the leader Little Crow who didn't attend. But for those who did, it was important that the state was acknowledging that this had happened—tangible evidence, Cavender said at the time, "that the Dakota were people, that they were human beings with feelings and dignity."

During the same week in October 1987, two locations fewer than ten miles apart had hosted one of the area's brightest and most unifying events, while also marking one of its darkest chapters. Governor Rudy Perpich had previously declared 1987 a Year of Reconciliation in remembering the US–

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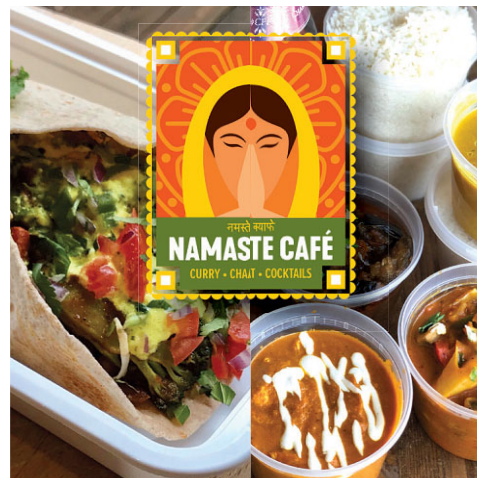
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Dakota War.

Cavender, who has since taken the Dakota name Chris Mato Nunpa, reflected years later that no real reconciliation happened: “Justice also has to happen before we can talk about reconciliation. And that means economic justice, including payments for treaties that still haven’t been paid.”

St. Paul mayor George Latimer was probably more accurate when he said 1987 would be remembered as “the year the Twins stole the heart of every Minnesotan.”

This is the whiplash of Minneapolis’s story. Each month brings a bevy of accolades, lauding Minneapolis as one of the nation’s greenest, healthiest, most literate, LGBTQIA+-friendly, bike-friendly, dog-friendly cities. We have the best parks, and the best music, food, and beer scenes.

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The same month also brings the latest evidence of how unaffordable the city’s housing is; how unwelcoming it can be to newcomers; and how crippling the disparities are when you measure these things by race. Minneapolis is home to some of the largest—sometimes the largest—gaps between how healthy or academically successful white people are compared to black, brown, and Indigenous peoples. A lower percentage of African Americans own homes in the Twin Cities than in any metro area in the country.

This whiplash was baked into Minneapolis since before its founding in 1867. No state seemed more behind preserving the Union and ending slavery in 1860, when Minnesotans cast the second-highest percentage of votes for Abraham Lincoln than voters in any other state. It was the first state to volunteer soldiers to the Union effort when the Civil War started. Then, a year later, Minnesota’s concentration camp was built, followed by the expulsion of all Dakota and Ho-Chunk peoples.

In 1909, with slavery abolished and Minneapolis on the right side of history, a race riot started by whites in Prospect Park signaled the beginning of a new generation of real estate contracts that kept people of color from buying homes.

Minneapolis exists where it does because of St. Anthony Falls. The Dakota call it Owamniyomni. The falls—now cloaked in a concrete apron, a whiplash of a different kind—fueled industries that separated the city from any other between Chicago and Seattle. The timber and flour industries provided markets and jobs for farmers, lumberjacks, and laborers throughout the Upper Midwest.

The Minneapolis whiplash exists here, where Pillsburys and Washburns made their fortunes and built corporate industrial giants that created offshoot markets for prosthetic limb businesses because so many people lost body parts on the job. A mile downriver, the immigrants who



COURTESY OF MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

lived in the flood-prone Bohemian Flats fed themselves, in part, by snagging floating fruit discarded upstream.

Even the river is part of the whiplash: it was a crucial part of the city’s growth and success, until it wasn’t. So we turned our backs on the river, until we didn’t.

Minneapolis has a history of collapses and rebuilding. Some collapses were real, as when the falls were nearly destroyed; others were metaphoric, as when corruption and the mob threatened to overtake the city’s workings until a progressive movement was born and, later, a young mayor named Humphrey did something different.

And yet, even as we always have rebuilt, it’s worth asking who was in charge of rebuilding—who was left in and left out, and how did those decisions leave us with the whiplash we have today.

For Minneapolitans seeking solutions to these inequities and disparities, to ignore the city’s history of discrimination, racism, and inequality is to condemn such an effort to failure.

II.

The city’s elite initially built their mansions downtown. As Minneapolis grew, posh residents moved farther from the core—a common trend in cities at the time. In general, much of the working class went north and northeast as well as to near south and south-central neighborhoods, remaining close to jobs on the riverfront; the rich went farther south and southwest.

Park Avenue became known as a Golden Mile with thirty-six large mansions. Another hub for the wealthy was Lowry Hill. Later, more desirable places to live were developed near Minneapolis’s southwestern lakes—Lake of the Isles, Harriet, and Bde Maka Ska (then known as Calhoun).

State lawmakers created the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board on the same day in 1883 they expanded the city’s borders

Before they built auspicious mansions around the lakes in south Minneapolis, many of the city’s rich lived downtown.

to include these lakes, as well as Lakes Nokomis and Hiawatha. The areas were swampy; Lake of the Isles wasn’t part of early park plans because of the muck. But the well-off were quickly attracted to these spots—even Lake of the Isles, thanks to a massive dredging effort in the early 1900s.

There’s a reason Minneapolis’s southwest neighborhoods have always been the toniest—and the whitest: the city’s white elite created some of them that way, and residents in others worked to make or keep them white.

In 1909, a black man, Rev. William Malone, bought a home in the Linden Hills neighborhood, at 4441 Zenith Avenue South. Neighbors said that the owner, upset at them over a court case, had listed the house out of spite “for sale to negroes only.”

The enraged neighbors hired a black attorney to fight the sale and prevent Malone from taking ownership. Someone shattered windows at the home, and a white minister preached, “black people should avoid going into a community where their presence is irritating.” The sheriff eventually found a way to seize the house, letting the owner resell it to a neighborhood organization but not to Malone.

The Minneapolis Tribune noted in apparent relief “the residents of Linden Hills have averted the establishment of a ‘dark town’ in their midst.” Malone never gained the property or the chance to pass that wealth to his descendants. The house, still there today and more than a century old, was worth more than \$600,000 in 2020.

By 1940, the thirteen other African American residents of the Linden Hills neighborhood were gone. This incident of racism in Linden Hills happened the same year as a “race war” in Prospect Park, a leafy

neighborhood not far from the University of Minnesota.

Madison and Amy Jackson bought a home there, and with their encouragement, Madison’s friend and coworker William Simpson bought land on nearby Melbourne Avenue to build a house. The thought of two black families was too much for neighbors, and 125 of them marched to the Jacksons’ house on October 21, 1909, to read a prepared statement.

“We are not here to argue,” the letter read, “but to make a perfectly plain statement of our position in the matter, to wit, that we do not want you.” Simpson later told a reporter he only wished to be left alone to spend his savings—about \$3,400—on construction. He made no demands for social equity and didn’t think any other black families would move into the neighborhood.

The Simpsons lived there into the 1920s. Their former home still stands on the property in 2020, valued at more than \$350,000.

In 1910, the year following these two incidents, the first racial restriction was written into a contract for a home sold in Minneapolis. In 1917, the US Supreme Court said governments couldn’t pass laws restricting property sales to certain groups of people.

But covenants were written into private real estate contracts. The court allowed them in a 1926 ruling. Covenants would be added to tens of thousands of deeds across Hennepin County. Minneapolis didn’t need explicit Jim Crow laws like the South’s to keep out blacks. Contractual tools and other informal practices achieved the same outcomes.

III.

The lack of any formal laws to allow discrimination—in fact, the presence of several antidiscrimination laws—shows the gap between how life is governed by laws and how life is lived in practice. It was a daily decision by real estate developers to add covenants to deeds to prevent certain people from being able to buy a house. It was a daily decision by restaurant owners to ignore laws requiring them to serve black customers, just as it was a daily decision by black customers to not even try to be served.

The University of Minnesota had no official policy to exclude black students from living in the dorms, but they were regularly rejected—and even removed. One student, John Pinkett Jr., was removed from Pioneer Hall after one night in the dorm; this suggests he had been placed there without anyone knowing his race.

The Phyllis Wheatley House in Near North became a boardinghouse for black students who couldn’t stay in dorms. While welcoming, it was also several miles from campus—a significant commute. In a letter to Pinkett’s father, University of Min-

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nesota president Lotus Coffman noted it was “common sense”—not any formal policy—that called for segregation: “The races have never lived together, nor have they ever sought to live together,” he wrote.

The same year Pinkett was kicked out of his dorm, 1931, a bungalow at 4600 Columbus Avenue South in the Field neighborhood of South Minneapolis caught the eye of the Lee family. The selling point was two bedrooms on one floor; perfect for Arthur, Edith, and six-year-old Mary.

When neighbors discovered the Lees were black, a routine common in cities across the country unfolded: the neighborhood association offered to buy the house for more than the Lees had paid, just to get them out. They declined. From there, over several nights, growing crowds stood outside the house to hurl threats like “Burn them out!” The mob soon reached several thousand while police largely stood by. Garbage and human excrement were thrown in the front yard. The crowds were so predictable, night after hot summer night, that enterprising vendors came to sell refreshments and ice cream.

The Lees received legal help from Lena Olive Smith, the first black woman to be a licensed lawyer in Minnesota, and the only one until 1945. She also helped found the Minneapolis Urban League and was later the first woman to be president of the Minneapolis NAACP.

In representing the Lees, Smith worked for several months to protect the family’s right to stay in their home—even as the crowds returned. The family hadn’t broken any laws, only a taboo. The Lees moved into a black neighborhood a few years later. Their home, now on the National Register of Historic Places, was valued at more than \$225,000 in 2020.

IV.

In 1950, Minneapolis reached a pinnacle. In that year’s federal census, the city’s population was 521,718. It’s the highest-recorded population in Minneapolis history and the only time a census put the city over the half-million mark.

From there, the city’s population started a decades-long decline, thanks to the post-war movement of people into the suburbs and out of the Midwest in general. Minnesota was the eighteenth most populous state in 1950; it fell to twenty-first by 2010.

It’s also hard to comprehend how white the city was in 1950: an incredible 98.4 percent. Fewer than eighty-five hundred people in Minneapolis listed their race as Black, American Indian, Asian and Pacific Islander, or Other. That has gradually changed. In 2010, the census tallied Minneapolis’s white population at 63.8 percent.

In 1953, Minnesota banned discriminatory housing covenants. The state passed housing antidiscrimination laws nine years



Arthur and Edith Lee hired Lena Olive Smith, Minnesota’s first Black woman lawyer, to defend their right to own a home in south Minneapolis.

later, and the federal government followed suit in 1968. But as historian Kirsten Delgado notes, “By the time that covenants were made illegal, the damage was already done. Covenants made it difficult for African Americans to secure stable and affordable housing, which affected the health, educational opportunities and job prospects of generations of residents.”

One indication of the challenge of changing hearts and minds is a 1947 report from the Governor’s Interracial Commission of Minnesota that found 60 percent of white people favored segregation. In addition, 63 percent said they would not sell their property to a black person, even for a higher price.

V.

The same New Deal program that created redlining—the boxing out of certain urban neighborhoods where federal backing for housing loans was routinely denied—also had helped subsidize the growth of suburbs before the war. Those developments won those subsidies only if the homes were sold to white families and included covenants that prohibited future sale to blacks.

Federal housing loans made to returning veterans followed the same practices. As the growth of suburbs took off after the war, these barriers only compounded the whiteness of new communities built outside of Minneapolis and St. Paul. After peaking in the 1950 census, Minneapolis’s population began a four-decade decline.

The overall loss of eighty-seven thousand people from 1950 to 1970 masks the fact that nearly 107,000 white people left the city during that time.

VI.

There had been a time when north Minneapolis was a hub of black business and

economic activity—not available to African Americans elsewhere in the city. At one point in 1937 it was so chock-full of pedestrians that the black-owned Minneapolis Spokesman newspaper compared the stretch to Beale Street in Memphis. “The most famous corner on Sixth Avenue North is the Lyndale Avenue corner where for years the colored people of that section have congregated.”

Sixth Avenue North later became Olson Memorial Highway, named for Governor Floyd Olson, who was born on the north side and later died in office. When it was widened into a highway in the late 1930s, it cut Near North in half. Gone was the pedestrian ambiance and community feel.

After the war, housing discrimination against Jews eased, and Jewish families started moving to the suburbs, but many maintained their businesses in north Minneapolis. Some former neighbors resented this racial inequity. After a few incidents of looting in August 1966, Mayor Arthur Naftalin—a former aide to, and protégé of, Hubert Humphrey, and also the city’s first Jewish mayor—met with leaders of the black community and acknowledged the lack of opportunities.

He reached out to his network for help, and across the city some jobs opened for blacks. At the community’s demand, a center called The Way devoted to empowering young black people was established in an empty storefront on Plymouth Avenue.

But by the next summer, the promised progress had stalled. On July 19, an argument broke out during Minneapolis’s Aquatennial Torchlight Parade, which led to accusations that a black woman had

been mistreated. As a crowd of African Americans walking up from the parade site converged on Plymouth Avenue, violence erupted.

Someone set the Knox Food Market, a Jewish-owned business, on fire, and someone threw Molotov cocktails at the home of the local alderman.

Harry Davis, a well-respected leader in the black community, and Josie Johnson, then an adviser to the mayor, encouraged Naftalin not to have the police sweep the street. The National Guard was called in to maintain order but also to be a calmer force than the city’s own cops, many of whom wanted to take a harder line.

After sporadic incidents the second night, a peaceful dance held at The Way helped calm the neighborhood enough to end the unrest. No one died, but several people were injured and several businesses, many Jewish owned, were vandalized or destroyed. Minneapolis wasn’t alone; 1967 became known as the “long, hot summer” because of 159 instances of unrest that occurred in cities across the country.

Civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. had spoken to students at the University of Minnesota a few months before the unrest. His words would seem prescient. “I see no more dangerous development than the build-up of central cities surrounded by white suburbs,” he noted. King had chastised his largely white audience for not being genuinely committed to the hard work of racial equality. Simply speaking out against the most racist figures in the news wasn’t enough. Legislative victories, he said, “had rectified some evils of the South, but did little to improve conditions for millions of Negroes in teeming ghettos of the North.... I have an obligation to vigorously condemn the conditions in our society that cause people to feel they have no other alternative than to engage in self-defeating violence. Riots are the language of the unheard. Our summers of riots are caused by our winters of delay.”

Davis later led a coalition that joined business and community groups to work to address the injustices in the community. When Rev. King was assassinated in 1968, Davis and the still-new coalition worked to largely prevent the rioting that happened in other cities. Another aftermath of the summer unrest was voter backlash. When Naftalin decided not to seek reelection in 1969, Charles Stenvig used a “law and order” campaign—similar to the one George Wallace used to run for president in 1968—to win the mayorship.

Stenvig had been the bombastic head of the Minneapolis police union. He thought the police reaction should have been stronger on Plymouth Avenue, and he pledged to “take the handcuffs off the police.” Harry Davis opposed Stenvig two years later as the city’s first-ever black mayoral candidate; Davis lost. ☐

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BORDERLESS BURGER

Here's how Vietnam got a juicy Lucy restaurant



COURTESY OF CIRCLE CAFE

BY JAY BOLLER

When Huynh Thi Minh Anh opened the Circle Cafe around 2014, the menu was devoted to food from her native Vietnam: pho, vermicelli salad, banh mi.

After a few months in business inside the ancient port city of Hoi An, Huynh had an idea: Let's see if the touristy clientele would enjoy a cheeseburger. For burger pointers, she turned to her husband, Jeff Hoganson, who grew up in the Twin Cities suburbs before moving to Vietnam in 2013. Hoganson steered her toward Minnesota's greatest, ooziest culinary export.

"I told her she should try doing a juicy Lucy," he remembers. "With that, Circle evolved into being a burger joint."

Circle's juicy Lucys (spelled out, somewhat controversially, as "juicy" to avoid translation mishaps) draw inspiration from the ones made by Hoganson's pals, Pat McDonough and Jeremy Woerner, the owners of Twin Cities Lucy chain Blue Door Pub. The Blue Cheese Garlic directly honors Blue Door, while the Kimchi Jong-un is a nod to North Korea's food-loving Supreme Leader. The Bacon Avocado is the most popular, Hoganson reports: "No big inspiration other than people really love those avocados and bacon, seemed like a natural combo."

We tracked down one recent Circle customer with an attuned Minnesota palate.

"The burger was really good, cheese was melted in the middle, and toppings were super fresh—meat was cooked just right too," says tourist John McCauley from south Minneapolis. "I might be biased since it was the first hamburger I'd had in at least two months, but I thought it was a true-to-form juicy Lucy."

(A couple of Minnesotans once declared it better than Matt's Bar, Hoganson says with a chuckle.)

Customers mostly come from Europe and Australia, Hoganson says, though Huynh has recorded guests from over 60 countries. Determined to ride out COVID-19 in a sane country, one Wisconsinite customer became a weekly regular.

"These are folks 'trapped' over here because of the virus," Hoganson says. "Trapped by choice, as they decided to stay here instead of going home where the virus risk was greater."

A small collection of locals are regulars, he says, and a growing Southeast Asian middle class means more foot traffic from regional tourists seeking molten cores of cheese. If you've taken your kids to Quang in Minneapolis or Hoa Bien in St. Paul, you get the idea.

"I think people are more curious about foods they typically wouldn't eat," Hoganson says. "Especially young adults and parents who want to expose their children to different foods and cultures." 📷



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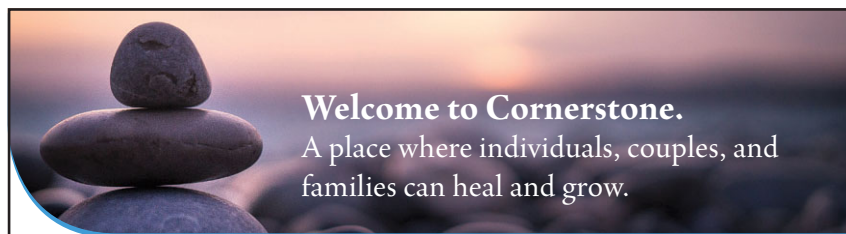
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BAD INK

A local shop gets shit for its swastika tattoo

BY HANNAH JONES

Last week, the Twin Cities Workers Defense Alliance—a group, at its most basic terms, for workers and against white supremacy—posted a photo of a large, elaborate tattoo.

It covered most of a grown man's back and featured mountains, soldiers, a nude child chasing a stag, and a ferocious-looking wyrm, among other things, but all of that was hard to discern through the inescapable shape of the design: a swastika.

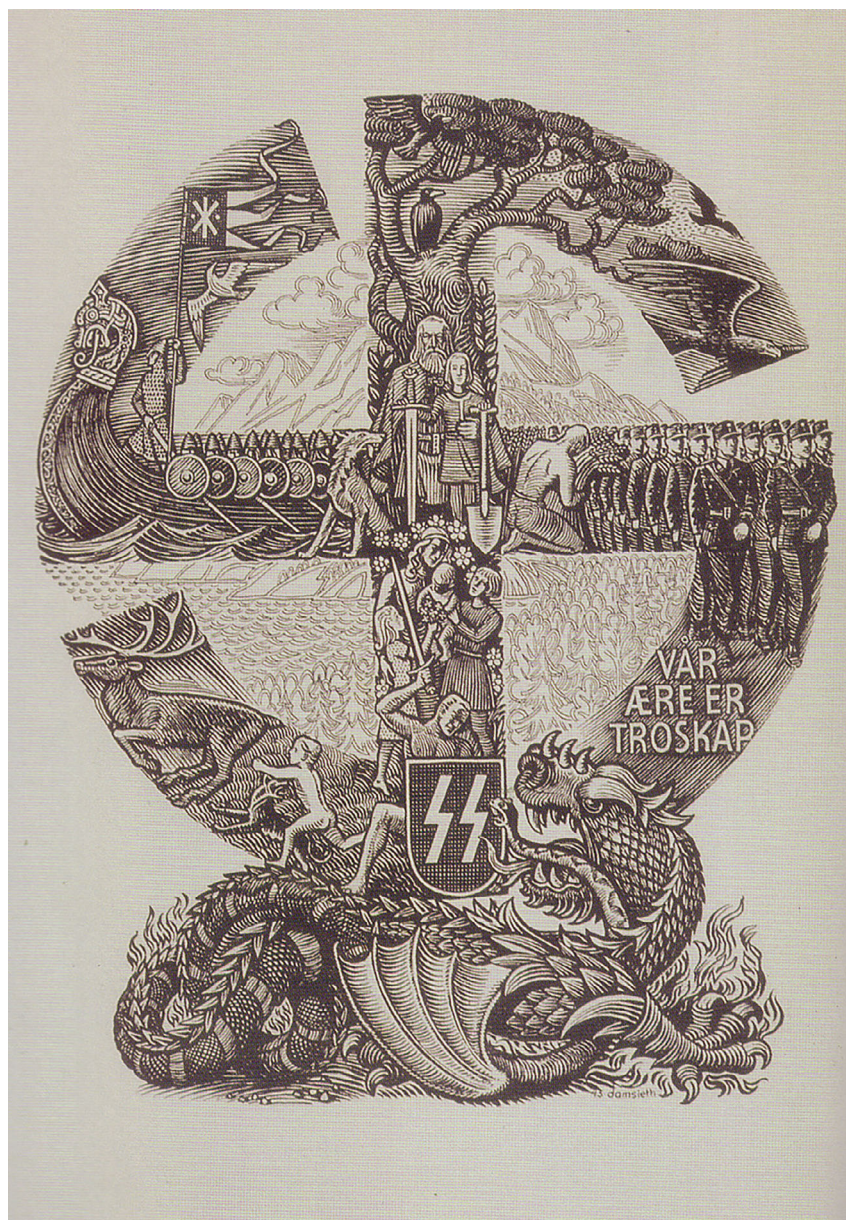
It turns out this was an image ripped from a recruitment poster for the Norwegian Waffen SS, which was, as you have probably surmised, a Scandinavian Nazi fighting force. This photo came to the Alliance as a screenshot attributed to WB Tattoo, a shop based in Spring Lake Park.

You can't find the photo anywhere on WB Tattoo's page, and the shop hasn't responded to interview requests on whether this tattoo had indeed been drawn by a WB artist. What has commenters most upset are screenshots of an apparent post from WB defending the design.

"When somebody comes into my shop and they want me to do some work for them, I don't judge them or turn them away," a post attributed to WB and displaying the tattoo photo said. "And I don't disrespect them regardless of whether or not I believe in what they believe or agree with their lifestyle or personal choices. I have friends of all races, creeds, religions, and sexual preferences, I will never turn anyone [sic] of them away for anything they wanted tattooed."

The photo of the tattoo was superimposed with a caption, which read, "The only thing Nazi that I can picture here is the way that you are trying to slander and debase someone else because of their own personal lifestyle choices because you don't agree with them. That's pretty fucking Nazi to me."

The alliance made it plain what it thought of that reasoning, responding

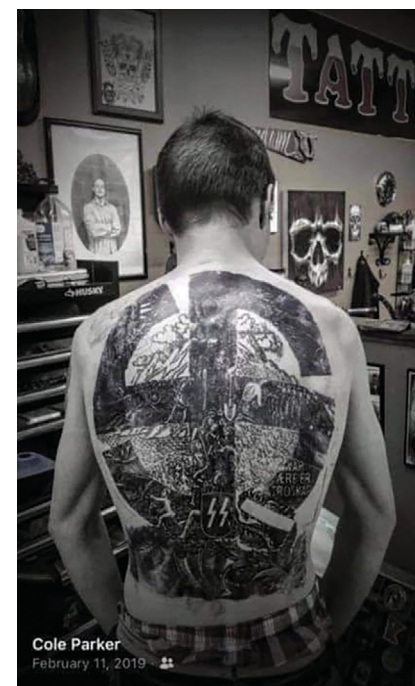


with: "No safe spaces for Nazis. No ink for boneheads."

You can technically still find the swastika tattoo in one place on WB's Facebook page, and that's in the reviews. Several

Facebook users have taken the liberty of leaving negative recommendations.

"They support white supremacists and Nazis," one reviewer said. "Talk about trash."



The tattoo was most likely inspired by this Norwegian Waffen SS propaganda piece circa World War II.

The screenshots have also made it onto Imgur and Reddit, where the commenters were, by and large, equally unimpressed.

It shouldn't be surprising that a call for tolerance re: white supremacy isn't landing super well... like, ever... but certainly right now. This comes on the heels of weeks of unrest over white supremacy and police brutality in the Twin Cities area after the death of George Floyd, a Black man, at the hands of Minneapolis police.

And just about two weeks ago, several "Aryan Cowboy" bikers were spotted in Stillwater. Sophia Rashid, a self-described "very visible Muslim woman," claimed they started tailing her and her four-year-old, "making comments/yelling" at her. Her account has been shared on Facebook some 17,000 times. **CF**



STAR TRIBUNE

S.O.S.

Are we ready to get serious about saving our live music venues?

BY ERIK THOMPSON

As the country gradually reopens, the world is looking a lot different everywhere you turn. But how different will the world sound?

Music venues were among the first businesses to close entirely once the coronavirus started to spread in the U.S., and they'll most likely be the last places to reopen. How many of your favorite clubs will survive the long shutdown? And what will the live experience be like once venues start hosting shows again?

No one can say for sure. But everyone who loves live music should be concerned about its future.

A recent survey of 2,000 music industry professionals conducted by the National Independent Venue Association (NIVA) found that 90 percent of independent venue owners, bookers, and promoters feel that if the shutdown lasts six months and they don't receive federal financial assistance they will be forced to close their clubs permanently.

Thousands of jobs would be lost in that

scenario, which would decimate the creative arts scene just when we need it the most.

To help prevent that, NIVA (led by its president, Dayna Frank, owner of First Avenue) has started the #SaveOurStages movement, an assembly of artists, music fans, and venue employees and owners pushing Congress to pass legislation that provides financial assistance, unemployment insurance, tax deferral, and mortgage and rent forbearance to shuttered music venues throughout all 50 states.

The U.K. equivalent, #LetTheMusicPlay, just helped pass a historic £1.57 billion relief package for Britain's theaters, music venues, and museums this past Monday, which features £270 million in loans and £880 million in grants to the arts and culture scene throughout the U.K. It's going to take a comparable—perhaps even greater—commitment from the American government to help bail out the U.S. music scene.

Following an official letter to U.S. House and Senate leaders in April expressing their needs, NIVA just sent out an official Artists'

Letter to Congress signed by more than 1,100 bands, musicians, and entertainers, including Billie Eilish, Willie Nelson, Mavis Staples, Lady Gaga, Coldplay, Foo Fighters, Kacey Musgraves, André 3000, Bon Iver, Robert Plant, Billy Joel, and Leon Bridges. In it, these performers state:

"We are asking you to support NIVA's request for assistance so these beloved venues can reopen when it's safe to welcome us and our fans back in. The collapse of this crucial element in the music industry's ecosystem would be devastating. Independent venues are asking for an investment to secure their future, not a handout. If these independent venues close forever, cities and towns across America will not only lose their cultural and entertainment hearts, but they will lose the engine that would otherwise be a driver of economic renewal for all the businesses that surround them.

"With respect and solidarity, we, as artists and as community members ourselves, urge you to pass federal legislation that will help #SaveOurStages."

Music fans interested in supporting the cause can sign a form on NIVA's site telling state legislators that saving independent music venues is important to them. You can also donate money directly to NIVA, or to funds that support the employees of specific venues throughout the country. Twin Cities music fans who want to directly help out local people in the entertainment

industry who have lost their jobs due to the pandemic can donate to Twin Cities Community Trust, a relief fund for all the people out of work throughout the local music and arts scene. And you can also buy merch directly from most of these venues.

Jarett Oulman, co-owner of St. Paul's Amsterdam Bar & Hall and the 331 Club in northeast Minneapolis, has a far more direct approach to how music fans can help these venues survive. "First, vote Trump out in November," Oulman states plainly. "Second, mentally and emotionally prepare yourselves to pay more for shows when they do come back."

As to how shows will be held once live music returns, Oulman is still figuring out how that will look. "You will come up with plans that adhere to the MDH and CDC guidelines once they are actually realistic to undertake for certain sized venues," he says. "Capacity and operational volatility needs to reduce significantly before tours start being booked on a national scale. This means state to state, things need to stabilize before tours really kick in. You won't see a ton of executed tours if they have to drop half the dates and reroute over and over just to have a few messy, under-attended shows. So it matters to venues here that Texas, California, Arizona, and Florida are having spikes."

When live music does return, venues will need to experiment with how they set up shows to ensure the safety of everyone in the room, while still maintaining the spontaneity that makes live shows so appealing. Many local clubs are already making adjustments, with Crooners in Fridley hosting drive-in shows where concertgoers stay in their cars, as well as outdoor Lakeside Cafe performances at the venue. Icehouse is also starting to host live music on its outdoor patio, beginning with a Monday night residency in July featuring Erik Fratzke.

But many clubs don't have an outdoor option, and operating within the state-mandated 25 percent capacity just isn't financially feasible for many of these venues. They need help from the federal government, and they need it now.

The most powerful musical statements that will come out of this moment won't be made by the artists popular and wealthy enough to emerge economically unscathed. They will come from the musicians who actively took part in the protests, the unrest, and the rebuilding of their communities. We need to make sure that there are stages where they can tell their stories. **■**

FREE WILL ASTROLOGY

>> By Rob Breznys

♈ ARIES (March 21-April 19): “As beautiful as simplicity is, it can become a tradition that stands in the way of exploration,” said singer Laura Nyro. This is practical advice for you to heed in the coming weeks. According to my analysis, you’re scheduled to enjoy an extended engagement with rich, fertile complexity. The best teachings won’t be reducible to a few basic lessons; rather, they’ll be rife with soulful nuances. The same is true about the splendid dilemmas that bring you stimulating amusements: They can’t and shouldn’t be forced into pigeonholes. As a general rule, anything that seems easy and smooth and straightforward will probably not be useful. Your power will come from what’s crooked, dense, and labyrinthine.

♉ TAURUS (April 20-May 20): You may think that playing heavy metal music and knitting with yarn don’t have much in common. And yet there is an annual contest in Joensuu, Finland where people with expertise in needlework join heavy metal musicians on stage, plying their craft in rhythm to the beat. The next Heavy Metal Knitting World Championship will be July 15-16, 2021. This year’s event was canceled due to the pandemic. If it had been staged, I bet multiple Tauruses would have been among the top ten competitors. Why? Because you Bulls are at the peak of your ability to combine things that aren’t often combined. You have the potential to excel at making unexpected connections, linking influences that haven’t been linked before, and being successful at comparing apples and oranges.

♊ GEMINI (May 21-June 20): In 1848, Danish King Frederick VII agreed, under pressure from liberal agitators, to relinquish some of his absolute power. Thereafter, he shared his decision-making with a newly formed parliament. He was pleased with this big change because it lightened his workload. “That was nice,” he remarked after signing the new constitution. “Now I can sleep in every morning.” I recommend him to you as an inspirational role model in the coming weeks. What so-called advantages in your life are more boring or burdensome than fun and interesting? Consider the possibility of shedding dubious “privileges” and status symbols.

♋ CANCER (June 21-July 22): Cancerian author Mary McCarthy provides you with a challenge you’ll be wise to relish during the rest of 2020. She writes, “Everyone continues to be interested in the quest for the self, but what you feel when you’re older is that you really must make the self.” McCarthy implies that this epic reorientation isn’t likely until you’ve been on earth for at least four decades. But judging from the astrological omens, I think you’re ready for it now—no matter what your age is. To drive home the point, I’ll say it in different words. Your task isn’t to find yourself, but rather to create yourself. Don’t wait around passively for life to show you who you are. Show life who you are.

♌ LEO (July 23-Aug. 22): Some night soon, I predict you’ll have an agitated dream while you’re asleep: a nightmare that symbolizes an unresolved conflict you’re wrestling with in your waking life. Here’s a possible example: A repulsive politician you dislike may threaten to break a toy you loved when you were a kid. But surprise! There’ll be a happy ending. A good monster will appear in your dream and fix the problem; in my example, the benevolent beast will scare away the politician who’s about to break your beloved toy. Now here’s the great news: In the days after your dream, you’ll solve the conflict you’ve been wrestling with in your waking life.

♍ VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22): “Love is the best school, but the tuition is high and the homework can be painful,” writes author Diane Ackerman. I’m guessing that in recent months, her description has been partially true for you Virgos. From what I can tell, love has indeed been a rigorous school. And the tuition has been rather high. But on the other hand, the homework has been at least as pleasurable as it has been painful. I expect these trends to continue for the foreseeable future. What teachings about intimacy, communion, tenderness, and compassion would you like to study next?

♎ LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 22): “A single feat of daring can alter the whole conception of what is possible,” wrote Libran novelist Graham Greene. His words can serve as a stirring motto for you in the coming weeks. I sense you’re close to summoning a burst of courage—a bigger supply of audacity than you’ve had access to in a while. I hope you’ll harness this raw power to fuel a daring feat that will expand your conception of what is possible.

♏ SCORPIO (Oct. 23-Nov. 21): “It’s not always easy to tell the difference between thinking and looking out of the window,” wrote poet Wallace Stevens. That’s a problem you won’t have to worry about anytime soon. The coming weeks will be a favorable phase for you to both think and gaze out the window—as well as to explore all the states in-between. In other words, you’ll have the right and the need to indulge in a leisurely series of dreamy ruminations and meandering fantasies and playful explorations of your deepest depths and your highest heights. Don’t rush the process. Allow yourself to linger in the gray areas and the vast stretches of inner wildness.

♐ SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21): The coming weeks will be a favorable time to undertake a transformative vision quest, even if the exigencies of the pandemic require your quest to unfold primarily in your inner realms. The near future will also bring you good fortune if you focus on creating more sacredness in your rhythm and if you make a focused effort to seek out songs, texts, inspirations, natural places, and teachers that infuse you with a reverence for life. I’m trying to help you to see, Sagittarius, that you’re in a phase when you can attract healing synchronicities into your world by deepening your sense of awe and communing with experiences that galvanize you to feel worshipful.

♑ CAPRICORN (Dec. 22-Jan. 19): “To love well is the task in all meaningful relationships, not just romantic bonds.” The author and activist bell hooks wrote that. (She doesn’t capitalize her name.) In accordance with the highest astrological potentials, I’m inviting you Capricorns to be inspired by her wisdom as you upgrade your meaningful relationships during the next six weeks. I think it’s in your self-interest to give them even more focus and respect and appreciation than you already do. Be ingenious as you boost the generosity of spirit you bestow on your allies. Be resourceful as you do this impeccable work in the midst of a pandemic!

♒ AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18): “One-half of knowing what you want is knowing what you must give up before you get it,” wrote author Sydney Howard. Now would be a perfect time to act on that excellent advice. Is there any obstacle standing in the way of your ability to achieve a beloved dream? Is there a pretty good thing that’s distracting you from devoting yourself wholeheartedly to a really great thing? I invite you to be a bit ruthless as you clear the way to pursue your heart’s desire.

♊ PISCES (Feb. 19-March 20): Author Ellen Goodman writes, “The truth is that we can overhaul our surroundings, renovate our environment, talk a new game, join a new club, far more easily than we can change the way we respond emotionally. It is easier to change behavior than feelings about that behavior.” I think she’s correct in her assessment. But I also suspect that you’re in a prime position to be an exception to the rule. In the coming weeks, you will have exceptional power to transform the way you feel—especially if those feelings have previously been based on a misunderstanding of reality and especially if those feelings have been detrimental to your mental and physical health.

CROSSWORD

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SCALING UP
BY BRENDAN EMMETT QUIGLEY

Across

- 1 Initialism after hearing something overly revealing
4 “Use your brakes!”
10 “Let me take a guess ...”
14 Brick carrier
15 Having no meat or milk, in Judaism
16 Safari helmet material
17 Black cuckoo
18 Program that opens PDFs
20 Champs might hold one up
22 Beat follower
23 Punk variant
24 Theme of many YA books
27 Took the W
28 Speedway competitor
29 Old Testament prophet
30 Biting flavor
31 Olive Oyl creator
33 “You betcha”
34 Sun explosions
37 Derisive expression
39 Having hang-overs?
40 High hairdo
41 Car freshener smell
42 Some computer ports
46 Well-worn track
47 Exhausted and then some
50 “You’ve gotta be kidding me”
51 Gina Haspel’s org.
52 Allergic reaction

- 53 [Let me make sure I’m getting this right] ... and a hint to the shaded squares
57 Action film weapon
58 Tulip chair designer Saarinen
59 “It’d be my pleasure”
60 ____ Hoek (cartoon Chihuahua)
61 Spy film set on Crab Key
62 Inspire passion
63 Drive-by graduation participants, for short

Down

- 1 Roof material
2 The Era of Good Feelings president
3 Translator’s challenges
4 Pitching legend Warren
5 Singer with the 2020 #1 hit “Rain on Me”
6 Coronado’s gold
7 Sign of neglect
8 While
9 Put some new sails on, say
10 Beverage with a high ABV, for short
11 2004 movie about oenophiles
12 Agenda opener
13 Masses of people
19 Squeeze (out)
21 “Leave me the eff alone”
25 Representative from

- Mogadishu
26 Give up the game
30 Jeffrey Lebowski’s nickname
32 Christmas special extra, often
33 Underground rock?
34 From Texas, say
35 Legal activist Guinier
36 Repulsed by
37 Spiffed (up)
38 Live theater disrupter, maybe
41 Have every intention to
43 French sisters
44 A game show contestant might hold it
45 Beer garden attendees hold them
47 “This isn’t good!”
48 Fine twisted thread
49 Les XX painter James
54 Honey bunny’s murmur
55 Fallopian tube cells
56 Judge pro ____

Last Week’s Answer

E	T	R	E	A	L	C	O	A	P	D	A	S
P	O	O	P	C	U	O	M	O	U	R	D	U
S	Q	U	E	A	K	C	H	I	C	T	E	A
O	U	T	E	D	E	N	T	S	T	A	G	E
N	E	E	J	A	N	P	A	Y	M	E		
		S	Q	U	A	T	C	R	A	C	K	I
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C	A	R	L	B	O	W	O	A	F			
S	Q	U	I	R	R	E	L	P	O	W	E	R
U	P	F	O	R	R	F	K	E	C	O		
F	E	T	I	D	A	P	E	E	X	X	O	N
E	R	T	E	S	Q	U	A	D	S	M	A	C
D	I	O	R	O	U	N	C	E	A	L	O	E
S	A	N	S	L	A	T	H	E	S	L	A	Y

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Cucking Around

How can we make this kink work for two women?

I'm a lesbian in a long-term relationship. After much conversation with my partner we've decided to explore cuckolding role-play together. I'm not comfortable bringing another person into the relationship—especially right now—but I am willing to explore this as a fantasy. The thing is, I'm having a hard time figuring out how to do it. There's not a lot of info out there on how to engage in cuck role-play, especially between two women. Could you point me in the right direction here so we can have some fun while remaining monogamous?

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CUCKOLDING KINK'S
GLORIES IN REAL LIFE



Dan Savage

cuckold porn. I immediately identified with the cuck but I was too embarrassed to bring it up with my husband because it went against our vision of our marriage but also because I only ever saw cuckolding represented in straight porn." Raising awareness of gay cuckolds motivated Thomas to start his blog. So if you're not finding anything out there about lesbian cuckolding, CUCKGIRL, perhaps you could borrow a page from Thomas's playbook and create the content and resources

you would like to see.

Sadly, Thomas's gay cuckolding blog is no more. His was just one of the many sex blogs that were lost forever after the geniuses who ran Tumblr decided to purge adult content from their platform. In a matter of days Tumblr saw its traffic fall by one-third and its value crater. Yahoo paid \$1.1 billion to acquire Tumblr back 2013, but six years and one porn purge later the site sold for just \$20 million—less than 2 percent what Tumblr was worth when it hosted Thomas's gay cuckolding blog. (The moral of this story: Don't fuck with gay cuckolds.)

Thomas thinks it's entirely possible for you and your partner to enjoy cuckolding fantasies while keeping your relationship monogamous on both sides. "My husband and I started playing around with cuckold fantasies several years into our marriage and it remained a hot role-play fantasy for a long time," said Thomas.

A way to explore cuckolding without opening the relationship—not even a crack—is simply to ask your partner to tell you about her past sexual encounters. Listening to your partner talk about hot experiences she had with other women while you masturbate or while you fuck is a great way to explore cuckolding. You'll be bringing people up, CUCKGIRL, not bringing them in.

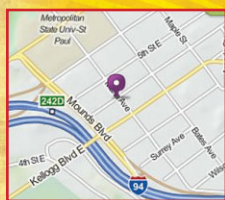
"CUCKGIRL and her partner just have to find their own way," said Thomas. "But the most important thing is to keep communicating. And give each other veto powers and go easy on yourself. Cuckolding plays with your fears around monogamy and infidelity—it can be very hot but it can be scary too. So take it slow."

mail@savagelove.net

Follow Dan on Twitter: @fakedansavage
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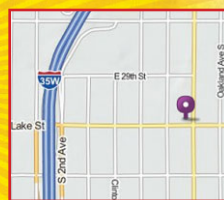
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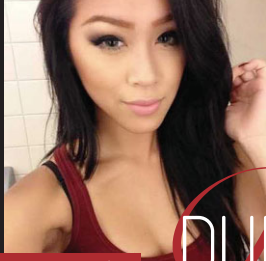
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